

**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**NATIONAL ADDRESS**  
**FOR**  
**DISSOLVING**

**THE**  
**UNION.**

**By a SCOTCH-MAN.**

**LONDON,**

**Imprinted in the Year MDCCXV.**

To the READER.

Sir,

**I**F you are one of these Modern Readers, who never look upon a Book, unless they find in it's Front, that it is written for the Sake of a Party, You may save the Labour of Reading these few Pages. I perswade my self, if, You favour them with your Perusal, You will be at a Loss to find, whether the Author is *Whig*, or *Tory*.

They are sincerely address'd in a plain homely Style, to *Scotch-Men*, with a fair Design to confirm honest Men of both Parties, And to reclaim (if possible) these who have been misled.

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The HISTORY of the NATIONAL ADDRESS for dissolving the UNION.

**I**N this Age, Where, scarce any Man has escaped the Contagion of Faction and Party, The Generality of Mankind seem to raise their Views no higher, than to hope, and believe, They shall be delivered from their Miseries, by a Change of these Managers, under whom, they feel their present Sufferings.

But recent and repeated Experience, may teach the People of this Nation, How vain it is, to place their Hopes upon Men, rather than Things And to believe, That a Change of Persons, Ministers, or Parties, shall better their Condition.

If we should look back to the five past Reigns, What Character can we give, of all the several Parties and Factions, which have appeared in these times, whether *Whig*, *Tory*, *Presbyterian*, or *Episcopal*, Shall we not there see, with what Folly, and Barbarity, Fellow Subjects have alternately treated each other, upon their respective Turns of Court or Power? It were an endless Labour to enumerate the Particulars: And being to confine the Affair in Hand, to a few Pages, I shall sum up, these general Reflections, by giving a recent and solemn Instance, of the Candor, of *Whig* and *Tory*: When in Her late Majesty's Reign, The *Whigs* thought the *Tories* had too great a Share of Her Majesty's Favour, They prest a Motion for bringing over One of His present Majesty's Family, This Motion was most strenuously opposed, and thrown out by the *Tories*; But before meeting of the next Session of the same  
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( 3 )  
very Parliament; Earl *Godolphin* ( then High Treasurer ) having thought fit to put a larger Share of Employments in the Hands of *Whigs*; At opening of next Session, The Discarded *Tories* made the same Motion, And the *Whigs*, with no less Vigour opposed, and defeated it.

I am not here to offer my Opinion, which Party was right, or wrong; Each Party urged this Matter as the Salvation of the *Protestant Succession*, whilst they were out of Place; And each of them opposed it, as the Ruine of the Government, whilst they were in Place: And from this Fact, with an infinit Number of the same Kind, People are at Freedom to judge, Whether or not, Modern Parties, and Men in Power, are governed by their own private Interest, or that, of their Country's? And whether or not, a Nation, under any Apprehension of Danger, or Pressure of Misery, ought in Prudence, to trust their Relief without Reserve, to some Leading Men in Power? Or if a Nation in Time of Distress, ought not rather take such Opportunities, as may occur, to make their Dutiful Applications to their Sovereign, and to the Parliament.

It shall be no Part of this little Essay, to express, the many Hardships this Nation lyes under, at present, by the Union; This being calculated only for such as are of Opinion, That ever since this Union took Effect, The People of *Scotland* have been running into a State of Misery, without any Prospect of Relief, other, than by being restored to the same State, they were in before the Union, with such new Laws ( if any such shall be thought needful ) as may secure our Present Settlement of the Succession, and Church. When an Attempt was lately made in the *British* Parliament, to have this Union dissolved, several Reasons were given against it, One was, *That it would endanger the Protestant Succession in His Majesty's Family*!

This being a very Reasonable Objection, and really meant by People who profess no plain Design to oppose the Dissolution, these who made it, proposed no other Security, or Satisfaction in that Point, but to call over, one of the Family, to give Countenance to the Exercise of that Settlement, upon the Queen's Demise.

Another was, That a Proposal for Dissolving of the Union, being a Matter of Consequence, The Queen ought to have been previously advertised of it, by an Address from *Scotland*; Both because her Majesty had been induced on several occasions, to say it in Publick, That she valued her self upon making that Union: And that her Majesty might know, That it was really the Mind of the People to have it Dissolved.

( 4 )

What Weight this Objection had then? or what Reason there may be for that Method, now? shall be taken Notice of in another Place.

A Third Objection ( or rather a Difficulty ) was, That it was not seasonable, It was a Design of the *Whigs*, the Government's Enemies (as they were then called) to disconcert the Queen's Measures, and Disorder the Government, &c.

This Objection did not appear in Publick, and whether or not, it was the chief Obstruction under-hand, to so good a Work, shall not here be Determined; But so far the Arguments of some People, who of late, have appeared in Print, and otherways, to Obstruct this present Address, shall be complied with, as to allow, That the late Ministry promoted this Objection amongst their own Tools, not from any manner of Suspicion, That the Affairs of the Queen or Government, would in any sort be endangered, or disordered by a Dissolution; But from an Apprehension that it might endanger, or disconcert, their own Possessions of Places of Profit, and Power!

I think, I have hitherto dealt fairly in my Description of that late attempt, and in yeilding to the Aspersions put upon the late Ministry in opposing it: The best Use I can now make of it, toward directing my Fellow-Subjects, is, to proceed in very few Words, to the History of this present Attempt for a National Address. Let honest Men of all Parties, draw the Paralel, as they think fit.

No sooner was an Address set on Foot ( in most dutiful Terms ) to His Majesty, for obtaining a Dissolution of the Union, But the Old Cry was raised against it, That it was a very good thing; but not seasonable! That it was a *Jacobite* Plot, entered into by the King's Enemies! That it were proper, to wait the Arrival of our *Honest Friends* from *London*! That it would influence the Elections, and disorder the King's Government! That therefore, it were best, not to Address, until the Elections were over, The King's Title Recogniz'd; And that this being an Affair proper for a Parliament, some New Laws must be first made, for the Furder Security of the Present Settlement.

These Objections appear in Publick; But in private, We are likewise told, That this is nothing, but a Design against the Present Ministry; And that if this Affair is dropt, All the hardships put upon the Church of *Scotland*, shall be fully repaired in this next Session of Parliament, and the Grievances of the Union shall be Rectified in due time.

As to the first Objection, It being in General Terms, no other, than an Assertion, That an Attempt to obtain a Dissolution is a good thing, but



but not seasonable ! It needs no Answer, Only this Observation may be made upon it, That, since even the Enemies to this Attempt, own the Union, to be an intolerable and universal Grievance, we may look upon our selves, as an unaccountable People, if we do not take all lawful Measures to get free of it. And therefore I proceed to the Particular Objection, That it is a *Jacobite Plot* ! &c.

It is a certain Principle, amongst private Men, or Societies, to use all possible Means, to Relieve themselves, from Burdens, or Hardships ; And it being here allowed on all Hands, That this Union is an intolerable Grievance to the *Scotch* Nation. Certainly, as they ought to improve all Lawful Means, for obtaining Relief ; So as certainly ( such is the uneasie Temper of Man ) a great many will be ready, to lay hold of unlawful Means, to get free of their present Distress.

The *Jacobites*, no Doubt, know the Natures and Failings of Mankind, as other People do : And knowing the Universal Dissatisfaction of the People at the Union, cannot ( if they have common Sense ) but look upon this Universal Heart-burning, as a ready Fewel, to warm the Spirits of their Party ; Do not People of all Perswasions, own in publick, That they will run any Hazard to be quite of this Union, If the Pretender should find Means to come amongst us whilst it stands ? Is it not to be fear'd he may have a Party of Men, to join him, upon that Score, who are otherwise his Enemies ? And if this Dissolution is made by King *George*, Are not these Fears at an End ?

Some *Jacobites* may be fond of the Dissolution of the Union, as *Scotch* Men, feeling the intolerable Burdens of this Union, and their Assistance ought not to be rejected, as wise Country Men : But if they lay this Project, or concur in it, as Men promoting the Interest of their Pretender, they deserve the King's Thanks, more than his.

Nay, Thus far I could adventure to say, That if Certain Advice were come, That the Pretender were ready to make an Invasion, whilst the Parliament of *Britain* is sitting, He would take the Part of a wise Patriot, who would represent, That many of the Pretender's Enemies would appear for him, in Hopes of being free of the Grievances of the Union ; And therefore, should advise the King, and Parliament, immediatly to pass a Bill for dissolving it.

If instances were needful to expose the Folly of this Objection, Several could be given, where the *Jacobites*—( for these very Reasons ) have opposed this Address, with all their Interest, But to insist further upon this Objection, were to do it more Honour, then it deserves.

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It comes next to be considered, How far His Majesty's Government would be endangered by this Dissolution? This of Necessity leads me back to the History of the late Attempt for that purpose, Her Majesty was then on the Throne; The most Zealous Patriots of the Protestant Succession, asked no further Equivalent for its Security, but to have One of that Illustrious Family seated in the House of Peers. That Prince is now the First Member of that House, His Royal Father on the Throne, The Army, Fleet, and whole Power of the Government in his Hands; And his Numerous Issue is in *Britain*. These Matters are so plain, That to draw the Parallel betwixt that Security, and this, must make a meer Mock'rie of all these Objections.

But further, Let us suppose a Dissolution, and Enquire, What may be the State of the Government's Peace, and the Relative Condition of both Nations, upon the Existence of a Dissolution? The Answer is plain, That if His Majesty had been upon the Throne before the Union, That Union had never been made, And that so soon, as the same is Dissolved, His Majesty's Government, and these Nations, will be in the same State, as Queen *Ann's* Government, and these Nations, were in, the other Day, before the Union was made. If this Union had been made past the Memory of Man, Perhaps it might require much Thought, and many Councils, and Treaties, to Adjust a new State of an Uncertain Prospect; But here there is no such Occasion; The People of both Nations, are all of them fully acquainted with the Condition of the Government of these Nations, and each of them, know their Respective Stations, and Duties in a Separate State: The Youngest of our Senators, or Ministers, have seen the Nation of *Scotland* performing all the Duties of Subjection, and Allegiance, to their Joint Sovereign, and Contributing their full and proportionable Shares, of all kinds, towards the Common Interest; A Dissolution of the Union makes no Distinction in Allegiance: A Separation of Parliament makes no Discharge, nor Release of Duties or Performances; The Consequence of the whole can amount to no more, than to Relieve the *Scots* from the Charge and Burden of an Attendance, which no Equivalent can Repair; And to ease them of some other Hardships, which are insupportable to them, and now ways beneficial to the *English*; and which must in all Ages Naturally foment a Longing Desire in the *Scots*, to be free of these Circumstances.

These other Objections, That this Address ought not to have been set on Foot until first the Parliament had met, and Recognized the King's Title, &c. seem to be sufficiently Answered by what is said;  
These



these Gentlemen do not think fit to distinguish betwixt the Proper Time for signing an Address, and the Proper Time, for presenting of it. If they mean, it's not a proper Time, for presenting an Address, until the Parliament meets, I am of their Opinion ; But since these Gentlemen ( for Reasons best known to themselves ) have thought fit to jumble this point, it's fit the People should take Notice, That as no Man, ever Said, or meant, it should be presented before Down-sitting of the Parliament, so, an Address to be signed ( as it ought to be ) by the whole People, takes a great deal of Time. It's to be supposed, no Man will deny That its high Time to move in this Affair of the Dissolution, this Session of Parliament : And if the Delays it has already met with, shall give it the Go-by ; And in place of obtaining a fair Dissolution, we shall have the Malt-Tax Levied, and shall be loaded with new Taxes, let the Authors of these Delays answer for it.

Here, it may not be improper, to put some People in Mind of the Specious Pretexts, with which some late Authors have Deluded them ; By insinuating, That this Project of Addressing, was good in it self : But being concerted by *Jacobites*, and dishonest Men, it was not fit to join with them in it, And that we should wait until our *Honest Friends* should arrive from *London*, with whom we might join, and get the Work done.

If we wait for a Dissolution by Advice from *London*, It is easie to read our Fate ! But passing over that Reflection, Let these Authors show their deluded Retinue, what Steps they have made in this Affair, since the Arrival of their *Honest Friends* ? If their Assurance is never so great, let them hold up their Faces, without a Blush, and say, if they had any other Design in these Delays, but to amuse such, as gave them more Credit than they deserved, and to lull a poor Nation asleep ?

That Objection, touching the Influence, This Affair, might have upon the Elections, is, of a Piece with the former, no Doubt, The present Design of obtaining a Dissolution, might, and ought to have influenced the Elections, so far, as to engage the Electors, to chuse such Representatives, as would be hearty in that Affair ; How far they have taken Care of that Point, Time will show ! But I can give the Challenge to all these Authors, to point me out one single Instance ; Where, If the Electors had governed themselves by that Rule ; It had made Way for a *Tory* Candidate, against a *Whig* one.

And now that the Elections are over, and all these *Honest Friends* have arrived from *London*, and have been for some time in *Scotland*, I again appeal to these Authors, and to all Honest Men, if the Pretexts were real, and the Delays well grounded ? Or if they were only Amusements.

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As to the Private Hopes, which some of us entertain, of having these Hardships removed, which have been put upon our Church; I shall not dispute the Justice of a *British* Parliament; But we had best consider, Whether, or not, Our *Scotch* Church Establishment, is full as safe, in the Hands of a *Scotch* Parliament, as that of a *British*; where, let the State Party go as it will, The Church Party, in Distinction betwixt *English* and *Scots*, is vastly unequal. We ought likewise to consider, That tho' our Hopes from this Parliament, or this Session, may be reasonably founded, how far, these may fail us in another? So that upon the whole, Our Clergy had best bethink themselves, whether or not, they should risque their Credit, by opposing so National a Concern, upon a Prospect of that Kind?

As to the Design against our Ministry, by the Dissolution, The Duty we owe our Sovereign, ought to engage our Respect to His Servants; And People ought not rashly, on every little Emergent of Faction, give them Disturbance. But if a National Concern offers, by which the Sovereign's Peace, and the Welfare of his Subjects, shall be better provided for (as seems plain in this Case) The King's Ministers ought chearfully to concur with His other Subjects, in promoting so good a Design. And since a Failure of this Point has been charged to the late Ministry, I hope, The present will show themselves better Patriots.

I have very carefully avoided all manner of Reflections; But I cannot here forbear my Concern, at the Discouragement put upon These, who have of late been endeavouring to promote so good a National Design, by shutting up the Press, and questioning People for publishing Papers, where no Fault could be found: No other Insinuation shall be made upon it, But that all honest *Scotch* Men, may behave themselves, as Dutiful Subjects, under so Happy a Settlement; And may contribute to make that Settlement, more and more easie, to His Majesty.

When the former Attempt was made, we were told, *It was unmannerly and undutiful, not to acquaint the Queen of it, by an Address!* And now we have Opportunity to remove that Objection.

If the *English* had a Mind to dissolve the Union, they can command their own Times and Seasons; But the *Scotch* must labour this Point, through many Difficulties from Abroad; And it were hard and unnatural to the highest Degree, if they should meet with any from Home.

The Commencement of a New Reign, is the most proper Season, for letting our new Sovereign know our Distress, and the Concurring Desire of the whole People, is the most effectual Way to obtain His Royal Favour for our Relief.

F I N I S.